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# PEACE NEWS

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## An A-Bomb Victim's Moving Story "HIROSHIMA DIARY"

By Leslie Hanna

IT is fitting that the tenth anniversary of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima should see the publication in this country of "Hiroshima Diary" (Gollancz, 16s.)

An eye-witness account of the devastation that flamed out of the sunny August skies by a doctor, himself at once a victim and yet helping his suffering fellow-citizens, it is a moving human document of the horrors of man's inhumanity to man on a mass, scientific scale.

The reader is gripped right from the start. One moment the sun is shining, the next the life-giving rays have been dimmed by the intensity of the unleashed power of the atom. Then the darkness of numb horror begins.

The book has all the elements of great drama, for all its simple, prose style. There is tragedy, so stark as to be well-nigh unimaginable. And yet there are flashes of simple humour and the horror of the accounts of suffering are illuminated throughout by touches of humanity that help restore our lacerated faith in our fellow men.

The dramatic *personae* of the book are not cast in the mould of what the world commonly calls "great." Most of the actors are ordinary people like ourselves. Their human failings are only too plain, but at the same time we get glimpses of the nobler sides to human nature.

The author, Dr. Michihiko Hachiya, was director of a Hiroshima hospital. He and his wife were victims of the blast. They lost all their belongings. With the hospital gutted, yet crowded with patients, the bare necessities in short supply or non-existent, the medical staff struggled on in their work of mercy. Many of them were also victims of radiation sickness.

Not the least of their troubles was the fact that they had no idea at first what caused the devastation. They didn't know what the symptoms—now so sinisterly familiar to us—meant. They were groping in the dark—literally, too, for even the simplest materials from which to fashion crude lamps were atomised.

A striking part of this day-to-day account of a bewildered people's gropings in the horror-filled period following detonation of the bomb is the onset of alarming forms of sickness among those who

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## "Fight militarism," urges Holland's ace pilot—ADRIAAN VIRULY CAIN IN THE COCKPIT

Translated from the Dutch by Hilda Von Klenze

ADRIAAN VIRULY, Dutch author-flyer, was born at Breda in 1905. He studied at the Commercial University at Rotterdam for some years and was afterwards attached to the Military Aviation Section at Soesterberg (1926-1931). In 1931 he took up his post with the Royal Dutch Airlines, KLM. In 1932 he became a pilot on the Dutch East Indies Line, and was afterwards appointed Commodore. In 1942 he succeeded in getting to England, where he became a pilot with British Overseas Airways Corporation. His many books (among them "The Green Hat," "Log-book," "Surprise Encounters") breathe a spirit of personal culture and constructive pacifism.

EARLY in 1946 the air line between Holland and the West Indies was opened up, and I piloted the first westward flight over the South Atlantic in a Skymaster.

First stops Dakar, Natal . . . I enjoyed that opening flight, but something was missing—the sense of a new era opening after the war.

Only six months earlier the first atom bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima. Half the world had rejoiced. Thanksgiving services had been held in the churches. At the news of the successful explosion, the President of Harvard University and his colleagues "rose, shook hands and fell round each others necks with tears of joy."

Hiroshima, The Beginning . . . The shortsighted, eager in the flush of victory to exonerate themselves from all blame, said that but for the atom bomb the war with Japan would have lasted much longer and demanded many more victims.

That, however, was just journalists' and generals' talk. Perhaps this dastardly attack on a civilian population—70,000 dead—was not of the most terrible military deed in the history of the world, and every other nation in a comparable situation would have done the same. But it seems clear to me that Hiroshima was not the end of a war, but the beginning of the war devil's own era, in which there will be no question of saving human lives.

... Of Dark Times  
The air route to South America was quite new to us, but I thought I already knew it. Exasperated by the books of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry who, as far as I know, is the only pilot-author to have grasped the vital significance of man's mastery over the air. I used to know him personally and had always admired him. He too was shot down by the Germans, but I know that at that time he had already lost faith in the peace which he was not to see.

At the end of his life, which had been so rich in understanding, he wrote:  
"There is only one real problem in the world: we must restore to life its spiritual

purpose. Men live in a world of the intellect but above there is a life of the spirit—and that alone can satisfy men. I have a feeling that the world is now on the threshold of the darkest of all times—*les temps les plus noirs du monde.*"

### Foreboding

I shall not easily forget that first ocean flight of a peace for which we had been working and to which we had been looking forward with such eager expectation, because from coast to coast it took place in perfect weather and everything went like clockwork. But I, in spite of the outward perfection, could not shake off a foreboding of the dark future. How can a man believe in this kind of peace between enemies who are for ever eyeing each other with suspicion?

Will world peace be established through fear of the increasingly dangerous bombs which will no doubt be manufactured after the Hiroshima bomb? Will it not be the idealists' striving, but war itself which will conquer war as a hundred times more powerful means of destruction show a hundred times more clearly than at present the wickedness and futility of military "solutions"?

### The Fatherland Demands!

Will the whole world never become one "fatherland," and will the term "fatherland" for ever serve as an urge to destroy other fatherlands, so that in the end the world itself will be destroyed?

"I am your fatherland. You must love me, pilot."

"I do love you."  
"Then you must be prepared to die for me. It has always been thus."

"I will if need be."  
"Then you must also live for me in the way I want you to."

"Very well, I will give you a part of my freedom."

"Then you must also be prepared to kill for me."  
"Nonsense. I have travelled the whole world. Men are alike everywhere. The Bible says that we must not kill and that we ought

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The War Resisters' Group in Iida City, Japan, are co-operating with the Principal of Iida Junior High School, Mr. Hachiro Matsushima, in planting apple trees along the streets. Some of the children from the school are seen at work in this picture. Similar scenes will soon be witnessed in Hiroshima as the campaign announced below develops.

# TREE PLANTING MARKS TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIROSHIMA A-BOMB

The tenth anniversary of the use of the first atomic bomb by Britain and the USA will see the launching of a two-year campaign to plant fruit and nut trees in Hiroshima and Nagasaki as living, productive monuments to peace and international goodwill.

When the trees mature their fruit will be donated to an orphanage.

The campaign has been launched by the International World Peace Day Committee.

Already a quantity of pecon seeds have gone to Hiroshima from an American couple, Mr. and Mrs. O. H. Schmidt, of Fort Worth, Texas, and have been planted in parks and the grounds of schools and churches.

The local authorities in Hiroshima and Nagasaki have heartily endorsed the project and will arrange for the planting and care of the trees, and for the harvesting and distribu-

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## How can we prevent another Hiroshima?

THE Mayor of Hiroshima, Mahatma Gandhi's son, and the High Commissioner for India have been asked by Peace News, "How can we prevent Hiroshima from happening again?"

Tadao Watanabe, Mayor of Hiroshima, in his message to Peace News, writes, "Our answer from Hiroshima is brief and clear. Since the secret of atomic energy has been made known to mankind, major future wars cannot be dissociated with its use as destructive nuclear weapons. Annihilation will be inevitable, unless the present lamentable situation of a world divided into numerous countries with conflicting interests is amended now. The time has come for mankind to realise that it must unite under a common bond of world government."

"The only possible solution to the serious problem raised here seems to lie in the discovery and putting into practice at the earliest possible date of that pattern and system of world government which will effectively work to correct the maladjustment and inequalities among the nations which have piled up through the centuries of the now out-dated system of independent sovereign co-existence. Should this fail, humanity will fail."

Manilal Gandhi replies:

"The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the most treacherous thing mankind could have done. It must have put all scientists to hang their heads in shame. But like wild animals who become more blood-thirsty the more they smell blood, these deadly wars seem to have deadened the souls of mankind as could be seen from the mad pursuit after deadlier weapons even than the atom bomb that has continued to go on notwithstanding the grave examples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

"The question now asked is how we can prevent this happening again. It can only be prevented by directing all our energies to searching for God and to obeying His law, at the cost of all material things we have become so attached to. Unless we do that there seems to be no hope for humanity. There is no time to be lost, for it has already become almost too late."

Mrs. Pandit answers:

## TEN YEARS AGO THIS WEEK

TEN years ago this week, the atomic bomb was first used in anger. In those ten years mankind has allowed the inevitable consequences of that terrible act to flow unchecked. New weapon has followed new weapon until the dread U-Bomb, 2,500 times more powerful than the one which devastated Hiroshima, has finally brought a pause.

Nobody denies that the Four Power talks which took place recently were the product of the universal fear which has gripped the leading politicians of the world since the awful facts of the U-bomb became known.

On this tenth anniversary of the greatest instantaneous deed of evil ever perpetrated by man, the world will be given cause for reflection. If the full import of man's shame comes home to him, then the martyrdom of those thousands at Hiroshima and Nagasaki will not have been in vain.

Ten years is a short time as history goes, but in these last ten years a weapon war has grown to become an instrument of universal suicide. What was once a threat to a locality is now a menace to the entire species.

But the challenge of survival is in its nature a moral challenge. Only by doing the right thing by others now can man ensure that he does the best thing by himself. We have sown the wind of fear and hatred. Shall we reap the whirlwind of annihilation?

Or shall we take the last chance of peace—through repentance, trust and courage?

In commemoration of this time, and as a reminder of the pledges of the past, the American Fellowship of Reconciliation have issued two "Aids to Reflection," extracts from contemplations on the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki made not long after the event.

See page three

"The problem of how 'to live and let live' has always confronted the human race. But today, in this atomic age, it carries a note of desperate urgency. We must now choose between survival and total annihilation, and Hiroshima and Nagasaki are a reminder of this grim choice."

"We in India sincerely hope that the statesmen and the people of the world will realise the potentiality of terrible destruction with which the nuclear weapons of war now confront the world, and in this realisation bend our individual and collective energies to ensure that Hiroshima will never happen again and this great new source of strength and power will be used to fight only want and ignorance which are real enemies of mankind."

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You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys of a piano, and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both black and white.  
—DR. JAMES AGGREY.

### THE SUPREME IMPORTANCE OF PACIFISM TODAY

#### I. The New Promise in the World

THE past two years have brought many developments to the world for which we should be thankful if we set them beside the conditions that prevailed previously.

Outstanding among these we count:

the change in the Russian Regime after the death of Stalin, with its important consequences for the development of possibilities of contact for its citizens with the rest of the world;

the slight but perceptible expansion of the conception of individual liberty in that land;

the very different attitude that, first Malenkov and then Bulganin and their associates have manifested in their diplomatic contacts.

Then there has been the more tardy but still developing change in the American attitude: the relegation to relative obscurity of that cruel and evil man, Senator McCarthy, and, more important still, the many indications that there is not to be a continuation of McCarthyism without McCarthy and that the spirit in American politics that he represented is in decline.

These indications include the final defeat of Attorney-General Brownell in the case of Owen Lattimore; the judicial decision given against the State Department in regard to Max Schachtman's passport, and the different attitude now displayed in regard to the freedom of movement of Paul Robeson and others; and the recent carrying by the Senate of the resolution moved by Senators Humphrey and Stennis calling for a commission to be appointed from both the Democratic and Republican Parties for a review of the whole "security" system.

These changes have not fundamentally altered the attitude of criminal irresponsibility that is repeatedly disclosed in the Knowland wing of the Republican Party, but they have sufficiently quietened these people, at least for the time being, to make possible the approach to the talks with the Peking Government that are now in progress.

There has been, too, the meeting of the representatives of the African and Asian peoples at Bandung in April of this year. We believe that this historic gathering—with its unmistakable indication that the policies of the "Great Powers," so far from being contemplated with awe or even respect were being judged by these peoples and that the verdict was likely to be a condemnation—was another outstanding factor that, combined with those already mentioned, made the holding of the Geneva meeting possible.

The culmination of these developments was of course the Geneva meeting itself, with the disposition to put an end to "cold war" propaganda and face the fact that the existence of nuclear weapons was a threat to everybody and that the policies and attitudes of the past ten years, if continued, would bring the whole world to ruins in a common catastrophe.

That this is now both realised and admitted, and that the statesmen are beginning to face the fact that however many things in international relationships may call for remedy or adjustment, it is imperative that war should be ruled out as a method of dealing with them, represents an enormous gain that has naturally brought great hope to the world.

Because it is the fact of the existence of nuclear weapons that has imposed this realisation it would be a tragic mistake to assume that all that is necessary now to maintain peace is to see that nuclear weapons shall continue to exist.

The effect of the threat of destruction through these things on the minds of the statesmen who have to wrestle with the problems of conflicting national claims and opposing interests and principles will be a diminishing one.

We shall only move toward release from the threat of destruction as we find a new basis for settling these problems and as we abandon the manufacture of A-bombs and H-bombs and dismantle those that have already been made; and as it is a delusion to imagine that a war in which the great industrial powers participate can in future be fought without resort to the use of nuclear weapons this means that we have also to measure our approach to security against world catastrophe by our willingness to abandon also the use and manufacture of the older types of armaments.

What the new situation means is that the pacifist conception is of greater importance today than ever before and that there will be found in the brute realities of existence in present conditions a pressure upon people to accept its logic.

The call now is for an unremitting insistence on the necessity for the pacifist approach. In two following articles we shall develop this view.

### The "Summit Talks"

There appears to be not a single dissenter to the proposition that the Geneva conference served to register the fact that none of the great powers wants war at this time and under the conditions—military, political, economic—which prevail at the moment. The international tension has relaxed appreciably. We are in for a period of negotiation over a number of controversial political issues, such as "disarmament" and German unification. On this particular level it may appear, as time goes on, that more has been accomplished than was apparent in the various communiques and comments which came directly out of Geneva. The announcement in this evening's New York papers that US and Chinese People's Republic "ambassadors" are to confer soon about certain Eastern problems is certainly significant. It would seem to establish definitely that the attempt to negotiate is to apply not only to European but also Oriental problems.

#### H-Bomb Decisive Factor

There is also universal agreement that the H-bomb—the threat of war which would mean mutual extinction or, at least, exhaustion—is a decisive factor in the decision that, for the present, war must be avoided.

My own conviction is that it is not so much the destructive potentialities *per se* of the H-bomb that have caused leading statesmen of the US and USSR to try another tack. It is, rather, that in one form or another a "third force" is making itself felt in the power situation. In effect, the allies and satellites of

the two dominant powers are making it clear that they cannot be depended upon for "loyal" participation in nuclear and/or biological war. Furthermore, the uncommitted nations, which cannot possibly command the resources required to wage modern war, seek to keep themselves free from the big powers and somehow to group themselves together. Thus, as I think I mentioned in one of these letters a few weeks ago, the decisive cleavage in the world, at least from one viewpoint, is now that between the two big powers capable of waging nuclear war on their own and the rest of the peoples, who, as far as nuclear war goes, are virtually disarmed. It may be said that it is this development which has pushed Eisenhower-Dulles and Krushchev-Bulganin together and caused them to smile rather than scowl as they talk, and to announce their failure to agree on basic issues in polite language and quietly rather than noisily and with scurrilous phrases.

It is also this aspect of the present situation which gives increasing importance to the "third camp" programme and movement and to the Third Way Conference to be held in London, September 3-6, and has led me to decide to attend that Conference.

To return to the theme of Geneva, all of our commentators, and for that matter, all the principals in the conference, agree that no problems were settled there. With some of them the foreign ministers are to wrestle in October. It is not cynicism which prompts the remark that this is a good time to remember that peace depends upon the solu-

### China and US at Geneva

THE success or failure of the Geneva talks now in progress between the representatives of the Chinese and the United States must be measured by the extent to which they are successful in creating an atmosphere that will bring the question of the admission to UN of the Chinese Government into reasonable discussion. Here what has to be done is to dissipate the vapours of unreality that so dangerously becloud such wide sections of American public opinion on this subject. It was notable that the representative of American trade unionism at the recent London Conference of the Labour and Socialist international was declaiming on the subject in very much the same terms as would have done Senator Knowland or the Editor of US News and World Report.

There has clearly been a common understanding on both sides in the way the agenda has been framed, which makes the first section the return to their respective countries of the nationals of the other held by each power, while section two permits any subject to be introduced without having to specify some matter that would set off the American reactionary lunatic fringe. The release of the American airmen actually in advance of the talks was another of the succession of steps that the Communist powers have been ready of late to take to make relationships easier.

#### Formosa

Setting out the attitude of the Chinese Government to the question of negotiations on the subject of Formosa, Mr. Chou En-lai has said:

"Conditions permitting, the Chinese people are ready to seek the liberation of Formosa by peaceful means. If possible, the Chinese Government is willing to enter into negotiations with responsible local authorities in Formosa. It should be made clear these would be negotiations between the central Government and local authorities. The Chinese people are firmly opposed to any ideas . . . of so-called 'two Chinas'."

It is possible that all he means by this is that his Government is anxious that the acceptance of Chiang's representative in the discussion of this matter shall not be held to imply that the Peking Government accepts that there are really two competing Chinese Governments, and that it is to be understood that Chiang's status in the talks is to have only a local significance so far as his recognition is concerned.

We hope, however, that in the talks, this pronouncement will be given a wider significance. What is particularly desirable in the settlement of the future of Formosa is that a voice really representative of the people of Formosa shall be heard, and not only the voices of the two contending forces, leaving the fate of the Formosan people to be dealt with as if they were so many sacks of potatoes.

With Chiang's police-state regime dominating Formosa it is not easy to provide soon that there shall be a genuine spokesman of the Formosan people, but both the Chinese, who now proclaim themselves ready to contemplate with satisfaction the extent of the countries that will not join either power bloc, and the Americans, whose idea of a free world used to require that there should be self-determination of peoples, ought to have it in view as an objective.

#### The rising cost of science

IT is now commonplace for Governments to reveal from time to time some enormous secret which they have been keeping from the public and for the full facts subsequently to be

"leaked" to the newspapers. Invariably, one of the facts is the cost of the secret, usually accepted by the taxpayer without a murmur.

So it was with atomic and hydrogen weapons, so it was with guided missiles, with robot rockets—and now with space satellites. Hard on the heels of President Eisenhower's announcement that the US will launch a "new moon" comes the revelation that the programme leading up to this event, planned for 1957, has cost £500,000,000. Not to be outdone, Britain also announces a scheme for achieving the same end—an orbit satellite—at a smaller cost.

If the amounts spent on this type of programme since the war—in research, development, experimentation and propaganda—could be totalled they would show a fantastic sum. Though there may be incidental civil benefits to be derived, the main advantage sought has always been military. Similar amounts spent by science on land reclamation, re-afforestation, soil improvement, flood control and disease prevention would by now have yielded incalculable benefits to mankind. It may be that there are important data to be obtained from outer space, data that may help to improve the lot of man. But arguments from that premise for the financing of these grandiose research plans are a deception. It is cynical to talk about the contribution of space satellites to human happiness when it is realised how far similar expenditures would go in relieving immediate human suffering among the poor and hungry of the world.

#### Scientists of the World Unite

Another aspect of the space satellite affair has been the concern of US politicians that President Eisenhower's enthusiasm for international sharing of scientific knowledge will lead to the Russians learning *gratis* some of the secrets that have taken much time and millions of dollars for US scientists to learn. There would of course be little point in sharing if it meant that countries learned only that which they knew already. Obviously erstwhile secrets will have to be exchanged.

It is good that scientists should have a universal loyalty to their calling, but it would be dangerous to allow scientists so to consolidate their influence on human affairs that they become a shadow government of the world.

However they may respond to national demands, scientists themselves seem rapidly to be losing sense of ideological attachment. There is a growing allegiance to the "cause" of science as such. In former times the idea of such a loyalty to learning, transcending more mundane loyalties, was a noble one. It conduced to a frame of mind that could rise above prejudice and narrow nationalism.

But today, living in a world whose entire economic processes are now dependent on the scientist, he wields an unprecedented power. His technology gives him a control over the lives of the non-scientific millions and all over the world boards of scientific advisers have come to exercise a back-stage control over governmental policies greater than anything since the control of the Church in the Middle Ages.

Democracy requires that government shall be by representatives of the people, chosen not necessarily for their brains or skill, but because the people want them. The people should be chary of conceding too much to the "experts".

## BEHIND THE NEWS

### Railwaymen at £5 10s. per month

THE condition of the people of the under-developed countries has mostly to be expressed in statistics, and percentages showing "calories intake," etc., applied to millions of people have little impact on the imagination. It is useful when the people of Europe have these conditions brought home to them by information regarding people doing the same kind of work as themselves in other lands.

Mr. O. Becu, General Secretary of the International Transport Federation, addressed the recent annual General Meeting of the National Union of Railwaymen at Hastings. Speaking of the "millions and millions of workers, particularly in Africa and the Far East" who "were still living like animals and were worked like slaves" he went on to say that there were railway workers who earned little more than £5 10s. a month while working, but whose pitiful incomes were reduced by unemployment. "Very few of them even had a house. They had actually to live in the streets. The railway worker in many of these countries was provided with a house after 15 years of service, but many died before reaching that seniority, as in countries like India and Pakistan the average lifespan of a human being was 27 years."

He appealed for greater trade union help for such people. It would be a useful thing if at every trade union conference in this country there could be a session devoted to a faithful description of the conditions under which those had to live who were doing similar work to that of the delegates in backward countries.

#### The Generals and war

EVERY so often—and with distressing frequency considering what is involved—we get an indication of the quality of some of the minds which have to deal with the issues of war, and are shown what a flimsy protection against war is the wholesale character of thermo-nuclear weapons, relied on by statesmen and our Archbishops to maintain peace in the world.

Admiral Arthur Radford, Admiral Robert Carney and General Nathan Twining were all opposed to ending the Indo-Chinese war and would have risked expanding it into a global war by direct American intervention by air and sea power. These same chiefs were also in favour of an American invasion of China as a counter-stroke against the Peking Government's action against the small islands held by Chiang Kai-shek.

Another military chief, Brigadier-General Dale O. Smith, former research chief and Director of Education for the Air University of the USA, and a member of the Operations Co-ordinating Board of the US Security Council, has written a book, "US Military Doctrine."

In it, he urges that "the most effective air siege of an enemy will result from concurrently attacking every critical element in his economy at the same time. Military conceptions must not leave us camping cautiously behind crumbling walls while the world slowly succumbs to a vicious doctrine of fear." This means that the US policy should rely on the "whip-lash of counter-attack with central mobile forces," i.e., bombers carrying thermo-nuclear weapons.

What Brig-Gen. Smith's policy would have meant in recent years is indicated by his contention that the best way to have fought the Korean War would have been to let the Communists overrun the country, after which it should have been sealed off while its industrial power and transport capacity was destroyed by sustained air attack.

Given his premises the General is probably right. The technological aspects of warfare today have become such that those whose job it is to deal with them can easily cease to remain human and become monsters.

#### Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

guarantee of peace is somewhat restrained now that he seems close to being idolised.

The comment of one of our highly regarded commentators, Roscoe Drummond, of *The New York Herald Tribune*, on Eisenhower's proposal that Russia and the US should each permit aerial reconnaissance of the other's military installations may serve to illustrate what I have in mind. Mr. Drummond says two things side by side, indeed in the same sentence, about this and similar peace statements by the President. One of them is that the President "was just being himself." The other is that in taking this tack he was going against the advice of a number of professional diplomatic aides who suggested he might get more by being more stern and unbending. The President's "instincts" proved right, and why does Mr. Drummond think so? Because it was made clear at Geneva that the Soviets did not intend to "buy" anything there which they "could get for nothing." Consequently, a tactic of sternness wouldn't have won anything and the President got "for nothing" (Mr. Drummond does not himself apply this phrase) the good opinion of the world for the US as bent on peace, so that "today it is Washington, not Moscow, which is conducting the peace offensive." In other words, though again Mr. Drummond does not say it that way, the US won a round at Geneva in the psychological war! It is a very apt illustration of the problem of what personal sincerity and general good will signify in a political context, and in such situations as this it is what has actually transpired politically.

#### Eisenhower and Sincerity

A final word about the impression Eisenhower appears to have made by, to use a typical phrase, "his patent sincerity in pursuit of peace." I do not impugn his personal sincerity in what I am about to say. A year ago I was in Europe. It was the time of the Indo-Chinese and Guatemalan crises. It was difficult in those days to find people in Europe who had confidence in the President and regarded him as a man of peace, though he was not regarded in quite the same way as that "old devil Dulles." I recall trying to persuade people then that objectively Eisenhower—for that matter also Dulles—was not so much of a man of war as many thought. It will probably be just as well if enthusiasm for him as the embodiment and

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## Frederick Forder

NEW PPU FIELDWORKER

By Mavis James

"MY immediate task is to help in the re-establishment of Groups and the strengthening of Area organisation. I hope it will be possible for me to report in the not too distant future, that in every town there exists a Positive Pacifist Unit," Frederick Forder, new Field Worker of the Peace Pledge Union, told Peace News last week.

"The PPU is a missionary movement blazing a trail for sanity, reason, decency and truth, and we must go forward with the zeal of Lansbury, the zest of Soper, the vision of Gandhi, and the fidelity of Christ until the world will change from the ways of war," he maintains.



F. G. FORDER

Frederick Forder came to pacifism at an early age. "Acceptance of the pacifist position," he claims, "seemed natural. At the age of fourteen, I had shocked a respectable church discussion group by suggesting that Christians should refuse to go to war."

### TRIBUNAL

He took his stand as a conscientious objector in 1949 at the age of 20. Viewing conscription as "a denial of the individual human worth and dignity," he applied for unconditional exemption, or an alternative conditional exemption, which would permit him to do social work. Dissatisfied with the usual conditions of work on the land, in a hospital, the building trade or in food distribution, Frederick appeared before the London Appellate, where he was given the alternative condition for which he had asked.

During the ensuing months with the International Voluntary Service for Peace, he harvested, demolished and helped renew property for the use of invalid children, painted a hostel, and sometimes assisted with the more mundane task of clerical work. Then, for a period of approximately four years, he worked at a Boys Training Centre, under the control of the Community Services Department of the Y.M.C.A. Here, as an Assistant Warden, Frederick was responsible for 15-17 year-old trainees who were seeking an agricultural career.

"Our main concern was to help each boy develop in body, spirit and mind," he explained, "and we arranged a varied and well-balanced programme of activities for after-work hours." To this task Forder supplied the knowledge and experience gained when he was a trainee under this self-same scheme some years previously.

In his capacity as Derby PPU Group Secretary, Frederick Forder has helped stimulate activity among pacifists in the Midlands and Northern region of England.

For the future, he pledges himself, "I shall do what I can to further the cause of pacifism, and bring nearer the fruition of peace. It's a big job!"

### HOLIDAYS

BECAUSE August 1st was Bank Holiday, Peace News had to go to press, and this appeal had to be set, earlier than usual. This affects the total of Headquarters Fund, because we hope that further contributions will have been received before publication date. Nevertheless, I would remind all readers of Peace News that Dick Sheppard House is never shut except on Bank Holidays and that the work of the PPU goes on all the time. This means that Headquarters Fund cannot afford a holiday and that if we are not to get behindhand we must keep up our average of £40 each fortnight even during August.

I hope that every reader of Peace News is going to have a good annual holiday, and I am sure that you will enjoy yourselves all the more if you know that while you are away the essential work of constructive peacemaking is going on all the time. So, when you are planning your holiday requirements or thinking what souvenirs to bring back, will you please remember the work of the PPU.

Send a contribution to Headquarters Fund in gratitude for happy days in the country or by the sea.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1955: £1,000.  
Proportion to August 3: £600.  
Amount actually received: £514.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER  
SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.  
Send YOUR pledge to  
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

## AIDS TO REFLECTION

Hiroshima Day, August 6, 1955

Excerpt from RICHER BY ASIA by Edmund Taylor (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947). Edmund Taylor was head of the Planning Board of the US Office of Strategic Services for some time during World War II and in the last year of the war in charge of OSS work in India and South East Asia. The passage here quoted was written after the atomic bomb tests at Bikini, and there are references to Bikini as well as to Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings in the quotation given here.

WE did not feel—even those of us who strongly disapproved of the Bikini tests—that we were committing a really serious offence against peace, therefore the deep feeling of guilt had seemed slightly superstitious to us, and we brushed it out of our minds, falling into an unnatural apathy... Bikini, though it lacked the element of sadism, constituted the same basic blasphemy which is what really shocked us the most in the showerbaths, the gas-chambers and the crematoriums of Belzen, in Goering's grotesque experiments with frozen prisoners and naked gypsies, in the researches of Nazi medicine aimed at discovering the ideal poisons for injecting through the eardrums of children... Our blasphemy, like the Nazi ones, arose from an idolatrous worship of the techniques of science divorced from any ethical goals...

In dropping the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki we had committed a crime against all nations, comparable to the crimes for which the surviving leaders of Nazi Germany were hanged at Nuremberg. We could not rationally justify our guilt to ourselves because it was an ex post facto guilt, remorse for something that we did not know was a crime because it had never until then been committed by man.

What we had done, of course, was mass-murder, but seemingly the conventionalised mass-murder called war, and therefore legitimate. Because we had apparently only done on a larger scale the things that all nations do to gain victory in war, we could not understand why we felt like the Biblical Cain, the inventor of murder. We have killed more human beings than have ever been killed before in a single air-raid, we told ourselves, but really we have saved lives, even Japanese lives, by so doing. A landing would have been much worse.

That should have made us feel all right but it did not. It did not make us feel all right because our guilt was not for the hundred thousand or more Japanese that we had killed—though that was grounds for guilt—but for having invented biological and even chemical crime, as the Nazis had perfected social crime. It was for having made ourselves the ancestors of the end of the world, as Cain, the first murderer, made himself the ancestor of all the murders which will ever be committed.

★

Excerpt from ATOMIC WARFARE AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, a report by a Commission of Theologians appointed by the Federal (now National) Council of the Churches of Christ in America, issued in March, 1946.

We would begin with an act of contrition. As American Christians, we are deeply penitent for the irresponsible use already made of the atomic bomb. We are agreed that, whatever be one's judgment of the ethics of war in principle, the surprise bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are morally indefensible.

They repeated in a ghastly form the indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants that has become familiar during World War II. They were loosed without specific warning, under conditions which virtually assured the deaths of 100,000 civilians.

No word of the existence of atomic bombs was published before the actual bombing of Hiroshima. A prior demonstration on enemy soil (either in vacant territory or on a fortification) would have been quite possible and was actually suggested by a group of the scientists concerned.

The proposed use of the atomic bomb was sure to affect gravely the future of mankind. Yet the peoples whose governments controlled the bomb were given no

chance to weigh beforehand the moral and political consequences of its use. Nagasaki was bombed also without specific warning, after the power of the bomb had been proved but before the Japanese government and high command had been given reasonable time to reach a decision to surrender.

Both bombings, moreover, must be judged to have been unnecessary for winning the war.

Japan's strategic position was already hopeless, and it was virtually certain that she had not developed atomic weapons of her own.

Even though use of the new weapon last August may well have shortened the war, the moral cost was too high. As the power that first used the atomic bomb under these circumstances, we have sinned grievously against the laws of God and against the people of Japan. Without seeking to apportion blame among individuals, we are compelled to judge our chosen course inexcusable.

At the same time, we are agreed that these two specific bombing sorties cannot properly be treated in isolation from the whole system of obliteration attacks with explosives and fire-bombs, of which the atomic raids were the stunning climax.

We are mindful of the horrors of incendiary raids on Tokyo, and of the saturation bombing of Hamburg, Dresden, and Berlin. We are mindful also that protests against these earlier oblitative methods were met chiefly by appeals to military necessity, whereas the eventual report of the Air Force's investigators has now admitted the military ineffectiveness of much of this planned destruction.

All things considered, it seems necessary to include in any condemnation of indiscriminate, excessive violence not only the use of atomic bombs in August, 1945, but the policy of wholesale obliteration bombing as practised at first by the Axis powers and then on a far greater scale by the Allies.

We recognise the grievous provocation to which the Allied leaders were subjected before they adopted the policy, and the persuasiveness of wartime appeals by military leaders to the superior competence of soldiers to decide military policy.

But we have never agreed that a policy affecting the present well-being of millions of non-combatants and the future relationships of whole peoples should be decided finally on military grounds, and we believe the right to criticise military policies on ethical grounds is freshly justified by the proved fallibility of competent professional soldiers in dealing with such problems in this war.

In the light of present knowledge, we are prepared to affirm that the policy of obliteration bombing as actually practised in World War II, culminating in the use of atomic bombs against Japan, is not defensible on Christian premises.

Signed by:  
Robert L. Calhoun, Chairman, Professor of Historical Theology, Yale University.  
John C. Bennett, Secretary, Professor of Christian Theology and Ethics, Union Theological Seminary.  
Edwin E. Aubrey, President, Crozer Theological Seminary.  
Roland H. Balton, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale University Divinity School.  
Conrad J. I. Bergendoff, President, Augustana College and Theological Seminary.  
B. Harvie Branscomb, Dean of the School of Religion and Professor of New Testament, Duke U.  
Frank H. Caldwell, President, Louisville Presbyterian Seminary.  
Angus Dunn, Bishop of the Washington Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church.  
Nels F. S. Ferre, Professor of Christian Theology, Andover-Newton Theological Institution.  
Theodore M. Greene, McCosh Professor of Philosophy, Princeton University.  
Georgia E. Harkness, Professor of Applied Theology, Garrett Biblical Institute.  
Walter M. Horton, Professor of Systematic Theology, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology.  
John Knox, Professor of New Testament, Union Theological Seminary.  
Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College.  
John T. McNeill, Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary.  
Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor of Applied Christianity, Yale University Divinity School.  
H. Richard Niebuhr, Professor of Christian Ethics, Yale University Divinity School.  
Wilhelm Pauck, Professor of Historical Theology, Chicago Theological Seminary.  
Douglas V. Steere, Professor of Philosophy, Haverford College.  
Ernest Fremont Tittle, Minister of First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois.  
Henry P. Van Dusen, President, Union Theological Seminary.  
Theodore O. Wedel, Warden of the College of Preachers Washington Cathedral.

## PEOPLE AND PLACES

Southern Rhodesia

"WHAT can we do by way of protest at racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia?"

This is a question I am frequently asked, more especially since the report in the Daily Express of the trial of a white farmer who flogged an African to death.

It is worth while writing a letter of protest to the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The Commonwealth Relations Office is at Downing Street, S.W.1.

Set up in July 1947, the Office now assumes responsibility for relations between the United Kingdom and India, Pakistan, Ceylon and the Central African Federation (Rhodesia and Nyasaland).

Their first conference

"FORCAST," a lively little journal I look forward to receiving each month from the USA, is the organ of the Youth Fellowship of Reconciliation published

from 124 N. Hudson Avenue, Pasadena 4, California.

It reports that YFoR is to hold its own National Conference this year for the first time—on the day preceding the regular National FoR Conference which will be held on September 1, 2, and 3 at Camp Mack, Medford, Indiana.

The Los Angeles YFoR hope to fill a car with six members, expenses for the run being \$35 (£12 10s.) per head. The distance: about 1,700 miles as the crow flies.

From the same address as Forcast, the YFoR have published their first discussion booklet. It is in a limited edition of 100 which I hope will have to be reprinted.

John Swomley contributes "The Role of a Pacifist Youth Movement," and there is an article on The Third Camp by Strephon Williams. The price is 28 cents.

Prayers for peace

PEACE workers in the Methodist Church are to be congratulated on

August 5, 1955—PEACE NEWS—3

Two go to gaol

## NOT QUITE INEVITABLE

"CONSCIENCE comes into existence when logic and reason fail," the Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate (Mr. F. Bancroft Turner) told two conscientious objectors who appeared before him on July 7, charged with failing to attend for medical examination. Mr. Turner, who now has a very large acquaintance among COs, continued:

"I have learned by experience that it is quite futile to make appeals to people in your position. You are making yourself the judge in your own case. You are not taking your fair share of the burden. It takes a frightful amount of guts to change your mind."

The men concerned were Brian Boddiss (22) of Radcliffe, a flautist, who had volunteered for the Royal Artillery Band, had bought himself out, and had then applied to the tribunals; and Marxen Beeson (24), of Bolton, whose two brothers had been registered as COs.

They were ordered to submit to examination and when they refused, Mr. Turner, following his usual practice, sent them both to prison for six months. He told them:

"You knew the inevitable consequence. You do not come before me as conscientious objectors. Other tribunals have already decided against you on those grounds."

Mr. Turner did not mention that he knew the inevitable consequence of ordering them to submit (which he was not obliged to do): namely, that they would refuse.

## UNA to launch national appeal for refugees

THE annual meeting of the United Nations Association has urged the Government to use its influence to secure the admission of China to UN.

Formosa, UNA also urged, should be placed under the control of UN for a period and the inhabitants have a say in the final decision as to the status of the island; the forces of Chiang Kai-shek should be disbanded.

It was decided that UNA should launch a national appeal for refugees in the autumn of 1956. John Ferguson, urging this on behalf of the Executive, quoted the World Council of Churches as putting the number of refugees in the world as 70 millions: one in every 30 of the world's population.

John Ferguson is Chairman of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation.

## Centre workers needed at Kingsley Hall

KINGSLEY HALL, Dagenham, founded as a sister Centre for Kingsley Hall, Bow, which was established by Muriel Lester, travelling secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is considering expansion of its work.

Situated in the middle of a large London housing estate, it provides recreational, educational and devotional facilities for young and old in the neighbourhood. The material possibilities for expansion have been for some time in preparation. But the expansion plan cannot go forward until increased staff can be found.

The Committee of the Hall is now looking for a man and/or woman who would be interested in taking on some years of work as a responsible leader of some section of the Centre's work. The main need is for someone who would make the youth work their main responsibility. There may also be openings for administrative and organising gifts.

Persons interested in this form of Christian service are invited to communicate with the Warden, Mr. S. J. Russell, at Kingsley Hall, Dagenham, Essex.

## Briefly

Pilot voluntary work camps for the Arab countries take place this month. The first camp to be organised in Portugal will take place shortly.

Radio programmes in which work campers from various countries participate can be arranged in Paris either by United Nations Radio or UNESCO Radio or the Radio Diffusion Française in their Overseas Service whenever representatives of the organisations ask for such programmes to be broadcast.

By Hugh Brock

their efforts which have resulted in the Conference appointing a committee to examine afresh the Declaration of the Methodist Church on Peace and War and to examine the possibility of producing a new Declaration.

Among the 17 ministerial members and 12 lay members appointed to the committee is the Rev. Gerald D. Needham, a member of the Mansfield (Joint Pacifist) Peace Group.

Dr. Donald Soper is also on the committee.

They heard of it in Zululand

Mary Harrison, who walked from Salisbury to London last March to protest against the manufacture of the H-bomb, writes of her experiences on the front page of the current Methodist Peace Fellowship News (3d. post free from 29 Gt. James Street, W.C.1.).

"This walk is not over yet," she writes. "I carry a little supply of leaflets in my handbag, and if anyone refers to it I whip one out for them. Friends have written from all over the country, and one from a mission in Zululand."

## Religion, pacifism and the social order

THE main concern of peace societies should be with the cultural centre of society and not at the political circumference.

The pacifist occupies a very vulnerable position in politics. Physical force is a necessary element in all government; therefore, to be logical, a pacifist should be an anarchist, but life is more than logic, and pacifists must needs take part in public affairs.

It is this contradiction between our principle and its application which causes the confusion in the pacifist movement and accounts for our feeble and somewhat futile contribution to the political life of the community. Few of the party politicians take us seriously; most of them either ignore or deride us. In peace time the pacifist is merely tolerated as a tame tabby by the Tory Party; he is often used as a stooge by the Labour Party; he has a nuisance value for the Liberal Party, and the anti-Communist says he is the dupe of the Communist Party. The majority of the politically uninformed, who belong to no party, regard him as a part of the lunatic fringe of the Left.

But perhaps the political black-out of pacifism is only temporary. The irresistible logic of events may convince where argument fails, and we may confidently hope that history—if any—will describe the pacifist of this period not as a tame tabby, a stooge, a nuisance, a dupe or a lunatic, but as the most sensible critic of his generation and possibly as a pioneer of a new age with "sweeter manners, purer laws."

Consolations provided by prophecy may be doubtful, but recent history certainly gives a lot of encouragement to the pacifist minority.

Sixty years ago in England, then the wealthiest country in the world, 30 per cent of the population were living below poverty level. The revolutionary change in the public consciousness—which has made the welfare state possible—was due, in so far as it was caused by personal effort, to the work of a small minority of socialists, anarchists and humanitarians, assisted by the few Christians who really believed in the Christian way of living.

Of course, much still remains to be done in the struggle for social equality, but much has been accomplished, and public opinion at the present time is infinitely superior to that of the Victorian era.

The PPU Religion Commission believes that greed produced by the desire for, or the possession of, private property is a fundamental cause of war. We therefore protest against the attempt of some of the more orthodox churches to consecrate those tribal taboos and legal enactments designed for the preservation of the power of the propertied and ruling classes; and, in the ideological contention between capitalism and Communism, we are not neutral. War is a necessity to the capitalist system of production for profit. A Communist economy does not need war. Under capitalism the incentive and effect is inequality, or, in religious language, iniquity.

For Communism the cause and consequence is equality. Karl Marx's slogan, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," is the same as Christ's parable of the Vineyard, "Unto this last as unto thee." Like the early Christian Church, we would have all things in common, but we would not destroy the lives of the Ananiases and Sapphiras of private property. We are against the liquidation of those who deviate from the party line. Our Communism is not an apology for a police state.

—From a Report to the Annual General Meeting prepared by the Religion Commission of the Peace Pledge Union.

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—and send us the "Letters to the Editor" on peace and related issues

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Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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**NORTH-WEST:** Alec H. Spring, 30 Wellington Rd., Bury, Lancs.

**MIDLANDS:** P. J. Renwick, 65a Trafalgar Rd., Moseley, Birmingham 13.

**SOUTH:** Mrs. Frances Morgan, 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

**N.W. LONDON:** Mrs. D. Hawkin, 30 Hampstead Way, N.W.11.

Groups and readers are invited to start their own collecting schemes. More depots are needed. Details from The Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.



Artistic Photo by courtesy of International Help for Children.

## YUGOSLAVIA

By HUBERT BUTLER

Tito Lifts the Curtain, the story of Yugoslavia today, by Hallam Tennyson. Rider & Co. 15s.

THERE have been three good books on Yugoslavia in the past few weeks, an autobiography by King Peter II, a travel record by a Swedish writer, M. Sommeliu, and lastly this work of Mr. Tennyson.

Alone of the three writers the King was personally involved in the great catastrophe that swept away a still medieval kingdom and left a question mark in its place, but M. Sommeliu brought a poetic vision and a certain Nordic honesty to the study of this enigma upon the Adriatic, while Mr. Tennyson brings a Quaker seriousness and cheerful matter of fact optimism (but I am not certain whether, as organiser of various international Quaker undertakings, he was acting as a Friend or as a Friend of the Friends).

To me Mr. Tennyson's book is the most congenial of the three. Without being a professional middle-of-the-road man, he is beautifully objective, or let us say, rather, that he observes other roads in Yugoslavia besides that which runs between Communism and democracy. The Marxists and their opponents are only indirectly involved in many of the sad crises and conflicts which are inevitable when an ancient people is pushed by circumstances from medievalism to modernity.

### Veiling of women

Consider the sad dilemma of many Moslem women today. The Communist law prohibiting the veil has been supported by the religious leaders, the Hodjas and Imams, who declare that its origin is not in religion but in custom. Yet the tradition is strongly cherished and many a Moslem wife sits indoors all day, terrified to walk out of doors unveiled lest she infuriate her husband, or to walk out veiled lest she be prosecuted by the police.

There are many bad old customs, which, like the veiling of women, have been handed down reverently from generation to generation. Only the dynamite of some crude revolutionary philosophy will abolish them, yet one is not obliged to commend the liberating violence, but rather to deplore the strange impotence of the humane and educated, who acknowledge the necessity of reform, but leave its execution to bandits or bureaucrats.

## The Church

Belief and Unbelief since 1850, by H. G. Wood. Cambridge University Press, 12s. 6d.

IN the first of these lectures, delivered at Cambridge in 1953, H. G. Wood contrasts religious life in Great Britain today with that in 1850 and notes how churchgoing has declined, fewer people read the Bible, the Non-conformist conscience has lost much of its power in politics and theological doctrines are less clearly understood. It is fascinatingly done, with a wealth of quotation and concrete detail, but this is a well-trodden path in the field of sociology, and fortunately Dr. Wood deserts it in the rest of the book for his own territory of theology, in which there are few such lucid guides.

His theme in the remaining six chapters is not so much to show how it came about that Britain as a community has declined from being a practising Christian country—that is a matter for the sociologist as much as for the theologian. His best pages describe how the theologians themselves (and through them the Christian part of that community) have modified their own views of the meaning of Christ. Here surely the story is much less discouraging. The textual criticism of the Bible, the quest of the historical Jesus, the publication of THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES, even the movements which have been avowedly hostile to religion and have sought to explain it away—these things might have had the effect that the orthodox feared in undermining public confidence in the Church. But they have served only to purify the doctrines of the Church and therefore have ultimately made it stronger. Being forced to dig down to its foundations Christians can be all the more confident that the gates of hell will not prevail against it.

F.E.

If the Hodjas acknowledged that the veil should be abolished why did they leave it to the infidel to enforce the abolition?

### "We must be modern"

Mr. Tennyson has certainly no illusions about the tact of the new Communist evangelists, but he is touched by their simple zeal. His enthusiasm for the old Macedonian dances worried his Communist friend in Macedonia, who expressed himself like this:

"We must be modern. We have to put the nix on dervishes, witches, beggars, ballad singers and these here long festivals up in the hills. Maybe they were useful in the olden days . . . But today they waste the precious time when the farmers ought to be improving their livestock and their agriculture . . . You won't write only 'bout them dances, will you, comrade? You won't forget the pottery and the tobacco refinery and the fruit packing plant and the hydro-electric station?"

Despite his admiration for the dances Mr. Tennyson recognizes the sincerity of this lament, for in many villages where Orthodox Catholics and Moslems were present together there were as many as 200 holidays in the year, excluding Sundays.

Mr. Tennyson declares that in Yugoslavia he would "as a believer in God and party politics" have been no more than "a second-class citizen with limited rights" but he considers that in a country, where new things are happening every day for the first time, the individual and his decisions may have an importance which they lack in a land like Britain, where the individual's rights have long been assured and democracy rolls along effortlessly on traditional rails.

### Influence of Marxism

Justifiably he plays down the influence of doctrinaire Marxism in contemporary Yugoslavia. "Materialism," he says, "for the average Marxist boils down to no more than a vague feeling that this is the only world we are likely to know and therefore we had better make the most of it." It is probable that, even without the breach with Moscow, Yugoslav Marxism would have had to adapt itself to many strong regional and cultural idiosyncrasies. Mr. Tennyson is doing a good work for peace, when he shows that the wall of dogma, which the Yugoslav Communists have built against the Christian world, has many gaps in it and is not at all formidable to the sincere explorer.

## INDIA

SINCE THE DEATH OF GANDHI, his disciples in India have made their most potent contribution to Indian life through a new movement called Sarvodaya Samaj, under the leadership of Vinoba Bhave. This movement already has a number of members and contacts in Britain and other parts of the world, and will become far more widely known through Hallam Tennyson's exhilarating account of Vinoba Bhave's Land Gift Mission (Bhoodan Yagna).

Copies of the English edition of the monthly magazine will, in future, be available from Housmans Bookshop (at Peace News Office). Annual subscription, 6s., including postage.

Other publications from this source available from Housmans include:

THE PRINCIPLES AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE BHOODAN YAGNA, Vinoba Bhave, 1s.

JEEDAN-DAN OR DEDICATION OF LIFE, by Jaiprakash Narayan, 6d.

THE REVOLUTIONARY BHOODAN YAGNA. A collection of speeches by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others, 9d.

Housmans Bookshop already acts as agent in Gt. Britain for the Navajivan Publishing Company, by whom the majority of Gandhi's writings have been published. Lists are available.

"Saint on the March," by Hallam Tennyson, 13s. 6d., Victor Gollancz Ltd. To be reviewed shortly.

Lewis Mumford on "Speak Truth to Power"

## ARGUMENTS ARE UNANSWERABLE

INTERNATIONALLY known personalities in the United States have commended the recent document of the American Friends Service Committee, SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER.

They include Lewis Mumford, Robert M. Hutchins, Norbert Wiener, Erich Fromm, Gordon Allport and Hans J. Morgenthau.

In a letter to the Committee, Lewis Mumford writes:

"I know of no other analysis of the present political situation that goes more firmly into the crippling contradictions in the present policies of our government, as upheld by both parties, and shows better how our lack of moral direction has undermined the very possibility of security. One need not begin from the premises that the Society of Friends has traditionally held to reach the same conclusions that SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER leads to. And it is precisely those who have convinced themselves that there are no alternatives to our present commitments to violence and extermination who should be willing, for purely realistic reasons of self-preservation, to consider the arguments—to me unanswerable—that the Friends have here produced."

SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER is the product of two years consultation and discussion by a working party of the Service Committee. It is to be presented to key men and women in all fields of activity in the United States, and will also be sent to interested persons overseas. A summary will appear in Peace News.

\* US 25 cents, from 20 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. UK 1s. 9d., from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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★ ON PAGE FIVE

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## FROM PAGE ONE

to love our neighbours. I will not kill."  
"You must. You will kill one soldier. Per-  
haps two. Perhaps three. That is the law of  
the fatherland."

"If that is the law I will do it, however  
much I loathe it."

### Devotion to a Flag—Or the World's Children?

"Good. And the 6th August, 1945, is a  
special Day. Then you must go and kill  
60,000 citizens and 10,000 children for me—  
at Hiroshima. Good luck to you."

"That I will not do."

"You must. It is the law of the fatherland."

"If that is the law I will go and kill them  
all."

"Good. And in 1960 you must kill 50,000  
children. And in 1975 a whole million in  
one flight and in one second. We shall be  
able to do that then. And in 1990 all the  
children in the world."

"You cannot mean it."

"But I do. I am the fatherland. You must.  
Long live our flag."

AND while we were flying above a world  
which for the time being was at peace,  
I wondered whether airmen would always reply  
that it was probably for the best and that for  
the sake of their flag they would willingly  
bring out their murderous tools.

On the Beam—to Hell

Was this then the real aim we civilian pilots  
had been striving for all along, though by a  
detour, when we followed our profession?  
Was this the coast men were trying to reach  
while they blithely imagined themselves to be  
on a peaceful flight across the Atlantic?

With Cain in the cockpit, no flight can  
ultimately be anything but a flight to hell,  
whichever route is followed. The first man to  
die on earth was Abel, and he died by the  
hand of his brother. Must we not fear that  
the last men to die on earth will die through  
military mass murder? Will there never be  
enough sensible people to refuse to listen to  
that kind of fatherland and its senseless de-  
mands?

From 1946 to this day peace-time flying has  
not been free from these problems. On the  
contrary. On March 1, 1954, the Americans  
dropped a bomb near Bikini which had more  
than six hundred times the explosive power of  
the Hiroshima bomb dropped nine years  
earlier.

Where shall we be in another nine years'  
time?

You know that the Americans have decided  
that if they are to experiment with further  
H-bombs they are going to widen the danger  
zone to a circle with a radius of 560 miles.  
That means that one of these bombs on  
Amsterdam will endanger Copenhagen, Lyons,  
Ireland, and vice versa.

A Challenge to All...

And where is there a voice of protest from  
the Churches, the political parties, the univer-  
sities, the people with a conscience? We do  
not hear very much, not in the world, not in  
Holland.

A remark written by Huisinga in 1939, in

THE TEARS OF  
HIROSHIMA

The fire ate into the flesh of children,  
Seared the bright tongues with agony,  
Eyes ran down their fleshless cheeks  
Blind mothers clasped themselves to dying  
croaks.

The world wept for a moment and then  
forgot,  
Turned its complacent back on tortured  
cries.

But one man counts the beads of slow  
redemption  
Another binds the living wounds of sickness.  
The tears of Hiroshima drop slowly,  
Each big with the world's old agony.  
And year after year the tears must drop  
Till the sheaves of kindness are gathered in.

CAMPBELL WILKIE.

Send notices to arrive not later  
than Monday morning. Include:  
Date, TOWN, Time Place (hall,  
street), nature of event; speakers;  
organisers (and secretary's address)  
—preferably in that order and style.

LONDON: "Remember Hiroshima" Poster  
Parade. 5.45 p.m. Assemble Dick Sheppard  
Ho. 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. March to Hyde  
Park for Open-Air Mtg. 7 p.m. PYAG  
Speakers. PPU.

LONDON, W.5: 2.30 p.m.; Eating Green.  
Fred Moorhouse, (For) and speakers, "Win-  
ness for Peace." Offers of help to Stanley  
Dyke, 48 Barnfield Rd., W.5. PPU, APF,  
FPC, For.

SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA: 5 p.m.; All Saints'  
Church, Southchurch Rd. "Remember  
Hiroshima" Poster Parade. Followed by  
Open-Air Mtg. on sea front. Speaker, Dr.  
Adler. Southeast and Ilford Peace Councils.

Thursday, August 11  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg.  
Ho., Bush Rd. Doris Jamison. PPU.

Thursday, August 18  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg.  
Ho., Bush Rd. John Barnard. PPU.

Thursday, August 25  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg.  
Ho., Bush Rd. Arthur Brunning. "What's  
wrong with the Churches?" PPU.

Sunday, September 4  
LONDON, N.W.11: King Alfred School  
North End Rd. Garden Party. Children and  
adult sports, sideshows, and country dancing.  
PPU.

Sunday, September 11  
LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m.; Friends  
International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Con-  
ference for young men who are considering  
standing as conscientious objectors. Speaker,  
Fred Moorhouse, For.

Saturday, September 17  
EPSOM: 3 p.m.; Poster Parade from Myers  
Hall, Ashley Rd. (nr. traffic lights), 3.30 p.m.  
Public Mtg. by Clock Tower, speaker Sybil  
Morrison. 4.30 p.m. Peace Exhibition and  
Refreshments in Myers Hall. 7 p.m. "Any  
Questions?" in Myers Hall (Sybil Morrison,  
Stuart Morris, Edgar Harvey). Epson and  
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6.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.; Pier Head, Open  
Board Meeting. Liverpool and District Peace  
Fellowship.

# CAIN IN THE COCKPIT

the "shadow of tomorrow," becomes daily  
more significant now, "We live in a possessed  
world."

Knowing full well that one bomb can  
destroy the whole of Holland, we still applaud  
soldiers on parade who are going to defend  
the country behind a little stream near  
Deventer and Zutphen. We act immorally as  
well as ridiculously.

BUT we must put a stop to it. Now. On  
behalf of the world and to keep our  
self-respect.

Cain in the cockpit—but also Cain among  
the high-ranking military, the politicians, and  
Cain in ourselves—no longer deserves the  
romantic adoration which perhaps in an  
earlier period was justified. He deserves our  
scorn and must be made to feel it. Where is  
our conscience? Do we wish to murder our  
brothers?

You know that since the NATO agreement  
of December 18, 1954, the use of atomic  
weapons by the West in case of war is a  
foregone conclusion. There is no reason to  
doubt that the East takes the same attitude.  
As Minister Spaak of Belgium has it "The  
military have got precisely what they asked  
for: permission to prepare for atomic war."

### Our Consciences

There was a time when it was considered  
honorable to wear military uniform. And so  
perhaps it was in the days of Napoleon, on the  
battlefields of the Somme and at Verdun, even  
in Normandy and at Stalingrad—perhaps. But  
what if the military lay claim to the country's  
welfare, social services and natural beauty for  
the sole purpose of mass murder?

How much do they stand to gain by it, these  
people without a conscience? Once a soldier  
came face to face with other soldiers.

Today young men are trained to murder  
100,000 women and children.

Whose conscience can take the responsibility  
for that?

Are we to have any respect for those who  
bring up boys without a conscience?

Need we pay tribute to people who make  
money by preparing for the murder of 100,000  
American or Russian or Belgian school-  
children?

Is it not more honorable today to fight  
militarism?

### Helplessness of Millions

Let us look at the situation as it really is.  
Let us no longer think in terms of yesterday.  
With H-bombs, cobalt bombs and guided mis-  
siles, against which there is no defence, yester-  
day is as dead as the eighty-years war.

HAVE you ever flown over Europe by  
night?

Hundreds of times have I seen the lights of  
Amsterdam or Brussels or Paris under the open  
sky. But London has always impressed me  
most deeply—a sea of lights stretching from  
horizon to horizon. I lived in London during  
the last war and have experienced the air raids  
there, and that is perhaps why I feel an almost  
closer bond with London than with my own  
Amsterdam. And there is no more moving  
sight on a night flight.

You see, barely ten years after the war, a  
spectacle that no one has seen before, that  
has never been seen in history—the complete  
defencelessness of ten million people against  
the evil intentions of others. They have lit a  
sea of little lamps of hope for the future, just  
like other people in Moscow and Rotterdam  
and Washington, and just like the 70,000 in  
Hiroshima meant to do.

In 1944 such a city still had a decent chance  
of defending itself. Not now. All military ex-  
perts agree that only some of the attacking air-  
craft can be intercepted. It needs but a single  
bomber to reach the city, and the ten million  
inhabitants of London or of Holland will be  
wiped out. Soon it will not even take a  
bomber—we shall have guided missiles.

When you look down on a great city from  
the air you see a helplessness greater than  
anything that has ever been seen before.

What American or Russian or Dutchman  
will drop such a bomb on such a city? He  
haunts me, that military pilot. I cannot for-

get him while below the lights stream away.  
He may be a decent chap, a good friend, an  
experienced airman, a considerate son or  
husband. But if he is prepared to commit  
this deed of murder, he cannot have thought  
about it, and in so far as thoughtlessness does  
not lessen a man's guilt, that decent chap with  
all his good qualities and in whatever uniform  
will still deserve the hell he has been willing  
to give.

### Responsibility is Yours

But what will they deserve who tacitly  
permitted the order to be given to that pilot?  
Those behind him with their churches and  
their socialism and their humanism and their  
cynicism and their irony? The apathetic and  
the luke-warm who remain silent because—  
well, because armaments fill their pockets, or  
because they were afraid for their security,  
or because they thought there was still time,  
or because they feared to be taken for Com-  
munists if they dared to speak of peace? In  
short, the irresponsible—what do they deserve  
when Cain again rides the air in their service  
or in the service of others?

FAR from Russia and America there exists  
a shining example of leadership inspired  
by a deep respect for human life. I honestly  
believe it to be a privilege to belong to this  
little country of ours whose Queen recognises  
the highest values and has spoken so fittingly  
of the need to overcome the idea of war.

I believe in going one's own way, a third  
way if you like, the way of one's conscience  
under all circumstances. The first son of the  
House of Orange who went his own way  
against the will of an overwhelming majority,  
has said that to fight such a battle it is not  
necessary to be convinced of final victory. He  
fought the battle of his conscience, which was  
not the conscience of the King of Spain.

We are not concerned with the conscience  
of the President of the United States or the  
leaders of the Soviet Union so long as we  
feel: "This must not be." Let us strive to give  
back to our people their conscience—a con-  
science which speaks and acts. Once more a  
battle for freedom has to be fought, but this  
time what is at stake is man's life on earth.

### Plain Truth

Let us see things clearly.  
People who today can look at a military  
parade with pleasure are out of their senses.

Let us show a healthy human scorn for  
inhuman people and their inhuman deeds.  
Let us renounce the false gods and admit  
that the arms race is madness. Madness  
from the highest point of view—the Book  
which has the deepest knowledge of man  
says unequivocally "Thou shalt not kill,"  
"Love your neighbour as yourself." It does  
not say anywhere "Thou shalt not kill un-  
less your ministers and your generals tell  
you to."

Madness also from the point of view of  
society. What is this thing that we call by  
the ridiculous word "defence"? There is  
absolutely no defence.

### Stupidity of "Defence"

Here in Holland an attempt is being made  
to convince people of the possibility of  
defence, though none of the experts believe in  
it. If any limited company were to present to  
its shareholders a balance sheet as misleading  
as the one we are presented with in regard to  
defence, the law would step in immediately.

We have an enormously high military, and  
therefore unproductive, expenditure—knowing  
all the misery of increasing inflation caused by  
it. We train our people and our children in an  
ideology of violence and prepare them for  
precisely the same despicable war work as did  
the Germans. Do the people in and around  
Rotterdam think that right?

### Spiritually Impoverished

In this way education, art, science, social  
welfare and all other manifestations of culture  
have to take second place; we are being

## CASTORS

\* FROM  
PAGE FOUR

Every effort is made to ensure that the  
houses erected are well constructed, so that the  
areas do not just become new slums. Each  
Castor is responsible for the well-being of the  
community and—when each has his own home  
—for the upkeep and the beauty of the estate.

The French and German branches of the  
Service Civil International (International  
Voluntary Service for Peace) have long  
recognised the merits of this method of house-  
building and several work camps have helped  
various groups.

spiritually impoverished by the military de-  
mands on our countryside; there is a housing  
shortage and what have you.

AND what do we get in exchange? Defence?

What did Churchill say about atom  
bombs? What was it even MacArthur pro-  
phesied? What do intelligent soldiers admit  
in frank conversation? A little country like  
the Netherlands cannot be defended against  
hydrogen or cobalt bombs. The pretty bar-  
racks near Woensdrecht, a fleet of minelayers  
in Den Helder, a swarm of one-man fighters,  
a few, however well equipped, divisions behind  
the little River IJssel can do absolutely nothing  
against them.

But a Parliament which is out of touch with  
the people and, as far as the international  
situation is concerned, takes a too optimistic  
view on the basis of a delusion, may quite  
well cause the disappearance of the Nether-  
lands by 1975.

Just imagine—only fifteen years after the  
May days of 1940 it is actually necessary to  
go to Rotterdam and say "Men and women,  
our government is about to make our  
soldiers brothers in arms of the Germans,  
the Germans, if you please. Don't let it  
happen. It is not a good plan. Refuse to be  
responsible." Fifteen years later it is neces-  
sary to foretell "Men and women of Rotter-  
dam and all the Netherlands, the bombard-  
ment which you have suffered in 1940 was  
only a trifle compared with what Cain in the  
cockpit is capable of doing now. Refuse to  
be responsible for the murder of your  
brothers."

### Wages of "Defence"

To close your eyes for the sake of comfort,  
to go on living as if nothing was wrong, be-  
cause there may still be time—that makes you  
responsible. People must be told of the crime  
which is being planned in Moscow, in Wash-  
ington and in the Hague. In the recently  
published radio play "The Perfect Crime"  
the poet Lucebert says, "Yes, the master  
murderers are always very far away from the  
scene of their misdeeds. It seems that they  
have found a way to commit the perfect  
crime. While they are planning murder, they  
talk about inhuman deeds; while they are  
doing wrong, they sit on the judge's chair.  
Oh, never before was evil more cruelly  
obvious, and never its cause more cleverly  
hidden."

LET us review the situation in the sober  
fashion which is typical for Dutchmen. It  
is wrong to live on the wages of "defence."  
Perhaps the Russians are not amenable to  
reason: perhaps the Americans are not amen-  
able to reason: perhaps man is not amenable  
to reason. In that case the twentieth century  
after Christ may well be the last century of  
man on earth.

But perhaps there was some truth in the  
words spoken at the birth of Christ from the  
high heavens which today seem to have been  
conquered by Cain, the words "Peace to men  
of good will."

In that case, the only proper appeal is that  
to good will, to our own good will towards  
Russians and Americans and other victims of  
the present fear and lust for power: the  
appeal to human good will which is the only  
absolute good in the world.

□ ON BACK PAGE

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tion of the produce to hospitals and relief agencies.

In Britain, the joint treasurers of Peace News, Lady Clare Amersley and Miss Vera Brittain, are acting as trustees for the fund.

Other collection centres for contributions are:

Mrs. Sophia Wadia, "Aryasangha," Narayan Dobholkar Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6, India.

Vegetarisches Universum, Sonderkonto Hiroshima Nr. 1365, Kreissparkasse Nagold (14b) Nagold, Germany.

Mrs. Harold N. Geistweit, 901 Brookwood Road, Oakland 10, California, USA.

Hon. Shinzo Hamai, Mayor, City Hall, Hiroshima, Japan.

Hon. Tsutomu Tagawa, Mayor, City Hall, Nagasaki, Japan.

All contributions should be marked, "Fruit Trees, Hiroshima-Nagasaki." The donations will be divided between the two cities.

## THE WORLD REMEMBERS

**ENGLAND.**—In London the Pacifist Youth Action Group will lead a poster march to Hyde Park for an open-air meeting, assembling at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, at 5.45 pm. In Bristol, there will be an open-air meeting held on Durden Downs.

**WASHINGTON, DC.**—An interdenominational service will be held on Sunday, August 7, in the Episcopal Cathedral. The Rev. Kyoshi Tanimoto, hero of John Hershey's book, "Hiroshima" and now on a lecture tour in the US, will bring an appeal from Christians in Hiroshima, and a response will be made by prominent American churchmen. The service will be broadcast all over the world by the Voice of America.

**INDIA.**—The 1½ million adherents to the Jain faith will hold special prayer services in their temples on August 6.

**URUGUAY.**—A mass meeting will be held in one of Montevideo's public squares.

**JAPAN.**—A ten-day World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs will open in Hiroshima. Among the sponsors of the Conference are Dr. Saburo Yamada, President of the Japan Academy of Science, Shinzo Hamai, one-time Mayor of Hiroshima, Professor Hideki Yukawa, Nobel Prize Physicist, and ex-Premier Tetsu Katayama.

**GERMANY.**—A meeting "in memory of the evil hour, when the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki," will be held in Stuttgart.

## Briefly

Latest poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York, reads: "Disarmament will bring Peace only if Goodwill replaces illwill in our Hearts and Minds."

War resisters in Nuremberg joined with the youth section of local trade unions in arranging the showing of the film, "Children of Hiroshima."

## Cain in the Cockpit

FROM PAGE FIVE

We have need of a new pacifism. The pacifism of the broken rifle of 25 years ago is as antiquated as the arguments of its supporters. In a few years' time a single silly boy at a criminal's bidding can wipe out the whole of the Netherlands. That fact demands a completely new attitude from us all. It is possible to remain an optimist in the light of that realisation; it is possible, but it is also inadmissible. We must recognise to the full that man is in a tragically weak position against his fellow man.

But speech and a sense of co-operation can still save the situation. Weapons will only serve to aggravate it.

## Renunciation of Cain

Those who take the sword shall perish by the sword. Those who today still believe in the sword shall perish by the sword—in *les temps les plus noirs du monde*.

I believe in all sincerity that there is little or no hope for men in our century unless they renounce the Cains in their midst.

I believe fully in the words spoken by Queen Juliana to Dutch school children in 1955:

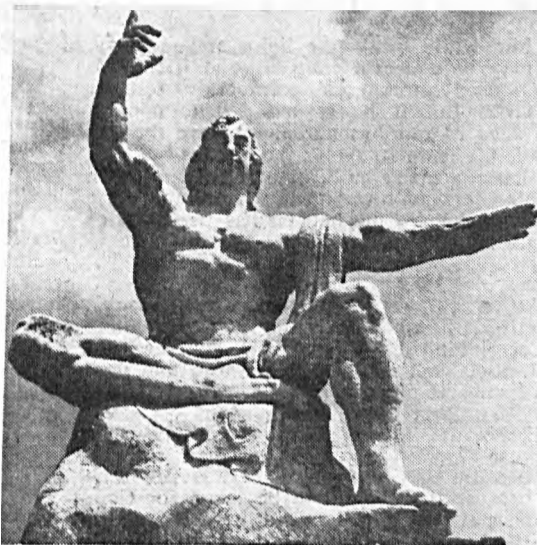
"You must follow the golden road: choose good, reject evil. Come what may, you must show your respect for life and particularly the life of others."

Come what may: respect for life, and especially the life of others—there is no more powerful force in the world than an idea whose time has come.

We would do well to compare that royal advice with the words of those who even in 1955 try to whip up our enthusiasm for the deathly pomp of military parades.

## Sybil Morrison's Article

Sybil Morrison is at the Peace Pledge Union Conference this week. For the following two weeks she will be on holiday.



A thirty-three-foot memorial against atomic warfare, erected by the Japanese at Nagasaki. It will be dedicated this week on the tenth anniversary of the destruction of the city.

## FLASHBACK

From the Daily News, October 31, 1916  
At Preston County Appeal Tribunal a member of the local Tribunal appeared as a conscientious objector.

Asked how he could act on the Tribunal and send other men into the army, he replied that he was not on the Tribunal for the prosecution of the war, but to do what he held was best for those who came before it.

The appeal was dismissed.

## Letters to the Editor

### Helsinki

MY recollections as a delegate to the World Assembly of Peace are still vivid. Whenever I attended a PPU meeting or a Third Way meeting, or purchased a copy of Peace News, I have felt that I was sailing in the right wind for world peace. All the time at Helsinki I felt just the same.

At Helsinki I was a member of the fourth commission, "Economic and Social Problems." Our chairman was Josue de Castro, a name well known enough to those active in the War on Want. We formed a sub-commission under the chairmanship of Sir Sahib Singh Sokley, of India, former chairman of the World Health Organisation. I was able to contribute some introductory remarks and two speeches to this sub-commission, stressing the importance of avoiding a repetition in the under-developed countries of the great distress in England which followed the Industrial Revolution.

On the question of trade, the Chairman remarked that the principle today was not expressed by free trade, but by "trade on a basis of equality and mutual benefit." In a flash I saw and recognised the importance of this fourth principle of the famous Panch Shila proclaimed by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai at New Delhi and accepted by the Bandung Conference. I knew that here I was sailing in the right wind for World Peace and sailing very fast.

H. G. EDE.

162 Ash Grove,  
Heston, Middlesex.

### Labour's Foreign Policy

MAY I reply to Denis Brian and others who do not accept the Labour Party's foreign policy and yet remain in the Labour Party, by relating my own case.

In 1945 I expected that the Labour Party's foreign policy would be based on Socialist principles, and could hardly believe my ears when Bevin first talked about "continuity of foreign policy."

From 1945 to 1950 I fought a losing battle on this issue, only to find that the right wing of the party was more firmly in control than ever. The advent of atomic and hydrogen bombs has made the question of peace and war far more important than they were in 1945, or even two years ago. I cannot myself see the sense of remaining in a party with the major part of whose policy I disagree when there is no apparent hope of changing it.

So now I am in the Wilderness. As secretary of the Third Way, my power to influence events may be negligible, but at least I am working for something in which I profoundly believe.

DAVID WICKES.

29 Sunderland Road,  
S.E.23.

### Women and War

HAD Sybil Morrison read my metaphysical books and articles as assiduously and appreciatively as I read her weekly column in Peace News, she could not possibly have so misunderstood my letter of July 29.

I agree entirely with her that the virtues of tenderness, love, protectiveness, mercy, etc., do not belong exclusively to women as a sex and may often be found far more fully developed in such men as Gandhi than in the average woman. But metaphysically they have always been considered the *feminine* qualities of the male-female Godhead of all the world-faiths; and the man or woman created, according to the religionists, in the divine image, should maintain the male-female qualities in perfect equipoise, the female "love" balancing and restraining the male "power", etc. Instead of which the modern, emancipated

## AFTER GENEVA—"END CONSCRIPTION"

From our Parliamentary Correspondent

THE forthcoming visit of Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Krushchev to this country was generally welcomed in the House of Commons last week during the debate on the Geneva conference.

While the feeling in the House was one of relief that international tension seems to be easing, many MPs stressed the dangers of the hydrogen bomb and called for an agreement on disarmament.

Several Labour Members saw an opportunity, following the relaxation of tension, for a reduction in the period of conscription, leading to its eventual abolition.

Mr. Herbert Morrison (Lab. Lewisham, S.), opening for the Opposition, declared that disarmament was the biggest single key to international peace. Disarmament, when it was agreed, must include the hydrogen and the atomic bomb.

"Real disarmament must be achieved so that the nations do not have at their disposal enough arms to start another great war," he said.

After urging an inquiry into the period of national service, Mr. Morrison said we must try to remove the power to make large-scale war. The Government and others must push on, for there was more hope.

He thought the recognition of the People's Government of China by the US would be a real contribution to Far Eastern peace and to the general peace of the world.

### £40,000 millions for War

Mr. R. H. S. Crossman (Lab., Coventry E.) said that the effect of the hydrogen bomb had been to destroy the possibility of negotiation from strength. It meant that, although we could not rely on military strength, the

strength of one's cause probably counted for more now than it did before. There was now more chance of each side seeing reason because the ultimate force was denied to it.

Mr. Arthur Henderson (Lab., Rowley Regis and Tipton) said that the world found itself with 20,000,000 men under arms and with an annual expenditure throughout the world of £40,000 million on armaments. The countries had in their possession tens of thousands of war planes, tanks, and warships, yet a few hydrogen bombs could well paralyse the whole of them.

"In spite of that fact," he added, "in spite of that vast expenditure and mobilisation of manpower, two-thirds of the population of the world are living in conditions of poverty and hunger. I suggest that finding a solution to these economic problems cannot be indefinitely delayed."

Mr. Henderson believed the Government and people would be willing to face the risks involved in real disarmament. An agreement providing for a substantial measure of controlled disarmament would in itself be a powerful contribution to the solution of many of the political problems at present poisoning international relations.

Mr. K. Zilliacus (Lab., Gorton) pointed out that we could not negotiate from strength because we were too strong. We could not employ the mailed-fist diplomacy because if we clutched a hydrogen bomb in our fist and dropped it on the other fellow we would blow up not only him but ourselves and the whole world too.

"So we just cannot use it. We have got to talk, and we have discovered that both sides dread war and are frightened of getting into a war because of the consequences."

"Let us be the first among the States to have the courage to catch this tide at the full and be swept on by it to a new vision of the unity and peace of humanity."

"Let us suggest an immediate standstill in tests of the hydrogen bomb and in its manufacture. Let us make slashing cuts in our defence programmes. Let us clear the clogged channels of East-West trade."

"Let us realise that something has changed and broken and that this evil enchantment that has held mankind in thrall has gone and at last we see the possibility of living together and using tremendous forces, not for our destruction, but for raising civilisation to heights hitherto unimagined."

### "Don't get rid of the Bomb"

Viscount Hinchinbrooke (Con., Dorset, S.) said the hydrogen bomb had guaranteed peace. Why did we want to get rid of it? If it were got rid of we should be back again to the old era of conventional arms. Even if there were control of those arms we might not be able to ensure that the populations did not break apart and start fighting again with them, so that we should be back to the Middle Ages and all that went with them.

Mr. W. N. Warbey (Lab., Ashfield) said that each great power had gone beyond convincing itself and its own people that it did not desire war. They had really succeeded in convincing the other side that they did not want war. That was the new factor which had emerged at Geneva.

Mr. Alfred Robens (Lab., Blyth) winding up for the opposition, said it was fear which caused a difference between the countries. The real weapon against fear was confidence. What the Geneva conference had done, he thought, was to give some sort of confidence.

Dealing with disarmament, he said that any genuine disarmament or collective security pact for Europe must be based on effective control and inspection of arms.

Mr. Harold Macmillan, Foreign Secretary, replying to the debate, struck a note of warning against any premature optimism about a task that would lie before the Foreign Ministers at the October conference. There was a gulf between them and it was no good pretending that that gulf had been bridged at the Geneva conference. It had been defined and that was a great advantage.

"Such success as there may have been at the Geneva meeting, or may be at future meetings, is largely—I put it no higher than that—based on the acceptance now of the view that power—war—as an instrument of policy is an obsolete conception," he declared.

## HIROSHIMA DIARY

★ FROM PAGE ONE

at first seemed unhurt or who appeared to be recovering. The poignancy of the suffering—mostly resulting in death—often agonising—will leave few hearts untouched.

An incident depressing in the extreme is the reaction of the patients from radiation sickness to a rumour which spread after they had learned that an atom bomb was the cause of the terrible destruction. This rumour had it that some Japanese suicide fliers had shot the horror weapon and dropped it on the American cities. How the patients brightened up and became cheerful to think that others were suffering like themselves! The utter horror of it! And yet so terribly human.

What did it achieve, this unleashing of hell-on-earth? Japan is rising again, she is rearming. With the knowledge of how to make the bomb now no longer a secret, will the technical ability to produce it continue to lag behind in a dynamic nation? What example is the West—and the East, too, for that matter—showing, with their growing stockpiles of nuclear weapons?

Pax Christi League,  
Crestfield St., W.C.1.

ALBERT BELDEN.

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Your servants Jones, Rev. A. (Congre) Secretar

Signed Council Bean Claud C Rev. H. Ernest Wallace (Friends) (Church G. P. T S. Shora

REPLY

In a reply to bishop points-peace and justifi considered alre of the Church by the World International M

He adds, " World Council year addressed t resolution deali

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